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LETTER DATED 6 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CROATIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to enclose a letter by the President of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, dated 5 November 1992.

I would appreciate if you could provide for the circulation of the enclosed letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ambassador Dr. Mario NOBILO
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 5 November 1992 from the President of the Republic of Croatia addressed to the Secretary-General

The Republic of Croatia is grateful to the United Nations for everything this global organization has done in stopping the war, and furthering and safeguarding peace in the territory of Croatia. The United Nations have made not only a vast physical and material effort - in their peace tasks the members of UNPROFOR have also risked their lives. Croatia will always remember all the UNPROFOR members who lost their lives while defending peace in Croatia. Croatia owes particular gratitude to you because your personal dedication and authority has accelerated the peace processes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The road to the termination of war and to the achievement of stability in this part of Europe still remains an arduous one, but we are convinced that you will successfully fulfil your leading role of architect of global peace.

While welcoming the unquestionable achievement of UNPROFOR, Croatia must turn to the final attainment of her strategic goals - post-war reconstruction and the political stabilization of her entire territory. This implies first and foremost the establishment of uniform legal and administrative authorities, and of an integral monetary, traffic and economic system, throughout the Republic of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. This is the cardinal factor in the creation of long-term conditions for the coexistence of all the citizens of our country, and for her connection with the European and global community. The state of law and order and the free market remain the frames of reference without which one cannot become part of European and worldwide integration processes.

While being aware of all the difficulties facing UNPROFOR in the implementation of the Vance Plan, and having no doubt whatsoever as to the best intentions of the United Nations, we have to state that the latest news from the UNPA fill us with dissatisfaction. The basic objectives of the peace plan have not yet been achieved, particularly the disarmament of paramilitary groups. You have stated yourself, in your report of 28 September (S/24600) that the "creation of new Serbian militia" represents in fact the renewal of "paramilitary formations". This is the major hindrance thwarting the normalization of relations in the UNPA. Croatia fully shares uour view that "the root cause of the deterioration in the United Nations Protected Areas since late July has been the Knin authorities' decision to create new paramilitary forces" (p. 11, para. 34).

Unfortunately, as long as three months after the passing of the Security Council resolution 769 which endorsed your plan concerning the control of the international borders of the Republic of Croatia, almost nothing has been done in this respect. On the contrary, UNPROFOR is a mute witness to the new provocations of Great Serbia's ideologues and their obedient followers. The

proclamation of the "union" of the so-called Krajina - the one in the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the other in the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina - and the preparation of the referendum on their secession from the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not only in opposition to the basic principles of the Vance Plan, but also represents the most flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and of the Security Council resolutions, and of the cardinal documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This is another attempt to forcibly change legitimate state borders. This deed is a follow-up of the criminal "ethnic cleansing" which opens up space for the "unity of Serbia lands". Croatia cannot calmly watch its territory being seized, the introduction of alien monetary and legal authorities, and the thwarting of peace processes agreed through the relevant United Nations documents, and London and Geneva negotiations on the so-called Yugoslav crisis.

We are most seriously concerned by the total lack of progress with regard to the return of displaced persons to the UNPA and the so-called "pink-zones". With all due credit for the results achieved in Croatia south of Dubrovnik and at the Peruča Power Plant, let me remind you that the return of refugees is the pillar of the Vance Plan.

The Republic of Croatia wants to maintain the best possible relations with all her neighbouring countries. However, it takes two parties for good-neighbourly and fruitful bilateral relations. The recognition of Croatia within her existing borders by Serbia and Montenegro, and by their Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is the basic prerequisite for the normalization of relations between Croatia and the Belgrade authorities. Because of this the international community should be even more resolute in isolating and pressuring Serbia and Montenegro, and their Yugoslavia, in order to force them to accept the constitutional and internationally recognized borders of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Republic of Croatia considers that the political solution sought by the Vance Plan, because of which Croatia has accepted the deployment of UNPROFOR in his territory - is the normalization of relations with Serbia and Montenegro in line with the principles of the Conference on the former Yugoslavia, and the reintegration of occupied areas into the political, legal, economic, monetary, social and communications system of the Republic of Croatia. No provisional legal system, or the present administrative and legal anarchy in the UNPA, can provide for the return of refugees, reconstruction, reconciliation and the rule of law and order. The existing state of affairs also jeopardizes the individual and collective rights of the Serbs in the area under consideration.

As far as the Serbian population in Croatia is concerned, it is a well-known fact that the Croatian Parliament has enacted legislation (the Constitutional Law on Minorities and the Abolition Law) which guarantees to the Serbs in Croatia all rights and legal protection such as afforded by the most advanced democratic systems worldwide. Today the only true enemy of the Serbs in Croatia are the Serbian extremists who oppose the normalization of relations. They even encroach on the fundamental rights of the Serbian population in Croatia and burn the bridges between the latter and their

coexistence with the Croats and other citizens of the Republic of Croatia. Croatia is capable of stepping, by legal measures, this pernicious extremism from any quarter, and has already taken specific steps in this respect.

The withdrawal of the Yugoslav army from the southern parts of the Republic of Croatia is a reason for optimism. This part of the Vance Plan has been achieved thanks to the efforts of UNPROFOR, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and with your personal assistance. This is at the same time an example of how the remaining problems in the area of the former Yugoslavia can and must be resolved. Unfortunately, force still remains the fundamental means which the other side is using in shaping its policy and affecting human destinies. The brutal Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina poses a direct risk for the security of the Republic of Croatia. The Croatian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina is in grave jeopardy because of the terrorism of Great Serbian units, and subject to major suffering and "ethnic cleansing". A new wave of refugees is spilling over to Croatia from Bosnia and Herzegovina, making the burden for Croatia excessively heavy. The current number of refugees exceeds 750,000, out of which more than half a million have come from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Croatia is spending three million dollars daily for their relief - a burden which even much more developed economies would find hard to bear. New Serbian conquests enhance the problem even more, escalating the refugee crisis to the brink of an uncontrollable explosion which may have an unforeseeable effect on European security and stability. The effect and the ultimate goal of placing the burden of such a number of refugees on Croatia's shoulders is equal to, if not worse than, the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

One cannot overlook the facts that Serbia - supported also by international activity of its Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - is persistently and ruthlessly achieving its military objectives, evading the decisions of the international community and mocking the authority of the United Nations. The world has not yet properly responded to the Serbian conquering policies founded on violence and war crimes, and aimed at the conquest of territories of other States. The Security Council has passed 22 resolutions connected with the so-called Yugoslav crisis. These documents are a valuable contribution to stopping the war, and a suitable frame of reference for a permanent political solution. However, the implementation of some resolutions still does not appear to be in sight. The Republic of Croatia urges a fast, accurate and consistent implementation of all the Security Council resolutions related to the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This refers in particular to Security Council resolutions 743, 749, 762, 769, 771 and 779. I think that the time has come to expand the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia so as to include the possibility of using force in the implementation of the foregoing resolutions and allowing for the gradual reintegration of the occupied zones of the Republic of Croatia into its governmental, legal and economic system.

Croatia has thus far shown patience and restraint in connection with the implementation of the UNPROFOR operation and in the cooperation with the United Nations, and you have personally given this country credit for it

(document S/24353, p. 8, para. 26). The Government and the population of the Republic of Croatia will continue to make every appropriate effort in order to achieve peace and the goals of the Vance Plan in their entirety. However, Croatia cannot calmly watch the lawlessness and the continuing deterioration of the situation in the UNPA. Unfortunately, we have to note that several hundred Croats have been killed in these areas since the arrival of UNPROFOR.

The opening of all routes of communication in the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the return of displaced persons to their homes are two of the top priority goals, but they cannot as yet be implemented because of the militant actions of the unlawful Serbian formations in the UNPA. Similarly, no customs and police officials under the supervision of United Nations forces have as yet been posted along the borders between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, although this should have been done a long time ago. Croatia looks forward to your help - within the framework of the Vance Plan and the so far passed Security Council resolutions - in order to put everything in the right place and to establish law and order and peace in the UNPA.

Unfortunately, the latest news attest to the contrary. The Serbian side fails to meet all its promises. The Serbian extremists did not even permit the reopening of the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway, and on All Saints Day displaced persons were not even allowed to visit the graves of their next of kin! There has been no progress either in the activity of the quadripartite mechanism set up pursuant to the Agreement between the Presidents of the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia reached in Geneva on 30 September 1992. All this fills Croatia with bitterness and puts the patience of the Croatian public to the test.

The Republic of Croatia will do everything in order to see the so-called Yugoslav crisis resolved in a peaceful and negotiated way. In this process we shall abide by the cardinal provisions of the United Nations Charter and all the relevant documents. But, Croatia cannot tolerate a situation in which there does not seem to appear an end to the encroachment on her sovereignty, territorial integrity and democratic achievements, a situation in which the security of her citizens is threatened and the principles of law and order disregarded. As a member of the United Nations the Republic of Croatia pledges herself to all her commitments, but at the same time retains the right to urge the global community to do the same. It is not only the existence of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina that is in jeopardy in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, but also the future of the global order in the wake of the cold war.

Let us take every necessary step, Your Excellency, in order to create by the expiry of the UNPROFOR mandate the internal and international political prerequisites for the full success of the mission of the United Nations peace-keeping force in the Republic of Croatia. The successful completion of the UNPROFOR mandate in the Republic of Croatia would promote the solution of the similar but much more complex process in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and allow for the use of the limited resources available to the

United Nations in stopping the war and achieving a just constitutional arrangement for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which would be acceptable for all the three constituent nations in that State. In the implementation of the peace plan in Bosnia and Herzegovina you can count, let me assure you, on the full cooperation of the Republic of Croatia.

Dr. Franjo Tudjman
President of the Republic of Croatia

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LETTER DATED 8 NOVEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Pursuant to the letters of 15 October 1992 (S/24675, annex) and 20 October 1992 (S/24703, annex) from the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and my letters of 23 October 1992 (S/24709), 25 October 1992 (S/24717), 28 October 1992 (S/24734) and 2 November 1992 (S/24750) to the President of the Security Council with respect to gross violations of Security Council resolution 781 (1992), and,

Considering additional information that on the morning of Saturday, 7 November 1992, the towns of Gradacac and Maglaj came under severe and damaging attacks from the aggressor, who used helicopters of the type "Gazelle" and "Mi-8".

In addition to shelling from ground forces, the civilians of the two towns endured heavy machine-gun and rocket fire from Yugoslav People's Army helicopters, which were also used to transport ammunition and troops.

Furthermore, noting that the continuing attacks on the two towns and others in the Tuzla region are part of a blatant attempt on the part of the aggressor to seize and isolate one of the few pieces of land still under the authority of the legitimate Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that,

During this siege of the Tuzla region, Tuzla military authorities estimate that the aggressor uses the same amount of ammunition in one day as the government forces are able to use in a month, and given that,

The desperation of the people in Tuzla is compounded by the lack of humanitarian aid directed towards them,

The Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina requests that the Security Council consider urgently all appropriate measures called for by resolutions 770 (1992) and 781 (1992).

May I ask for your kind assistance in circulating this letter as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Muhamed SACIRBEY
Ambassador and Permanent Representative

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Forty-seventh session
Agenda item 69
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING OF
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 4 November 1992 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I am writing to you regarding the letter by His Excellency, Mr. Dobrica Cosic, President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that was transmitted to you on 24 October 1992 and subsequently circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council (A/47/577-S/24711, annex).

The fourth paragraph of the letter contained a technical error to the effect that the word "Hercegnovi" (a town in Montenegro) was misspelled as "Herzegovina".

Consequently, the fourth paragraph of President Cosic's letter should read as follows:

> "On 22 October 1992 a group of four members of ECMM were detained in Cavtat. They spent about six hours in prison, and after they were released from prison and came to Hercegnovi, to the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, they stated that they were maltreated by members of the Croatian Army and that they wished to go back to the Netherlands."

Since it is evident that the error is clearly of a technical nature, without any political connotations whatsoever, we have been surprised by the letter of the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina of 3 November 1992 (A/47/662-S/24754), containing highly absurd accusations

against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia regarding its alleged territorial pretensions towards Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In that regard, I would like to recall that the Parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as well as President Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister Milan Panic have on a number of occasions unambiguously stated that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has no territorial aspirations towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and that it is ready to honour every political negotiated settlement reached by all three constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 69, and of the Security Council. I would also appreciate it if you would have the text of the letter of President Cosic corrected and circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 69, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dragomir DJOKIC
Ambassador
Chargé d'affaires a.i.